

**“Drawing Conclusions from Illustrations of The Water-Babies:
Artistic Selection Meets Natural Selection”**

by

Miranda J. Aristone

[Bachelor of Philosophy, University of Pittsburgh, 2018]

Submitted to the Faculty of the Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2018

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences

This thesis was presented

by

Miranda J. Aristone

It was defended on

April 20, 2018

and approved by

Ann Rea, PhD, Assistant Professor at the University of Pittsburgh, Johnstown

Alex J. Taylor, PhD, Assistant Professor, DAS, History of Art and Architecture

Courtney Weikle-Mills, PhD, Associate Professor, DAS, English

Committee Chair: Amy Murray Twyning, PhD, Lecturer II, DAS, English

Copyright © by Miranda J Aristone

2018

Drawing Conclusions from Illustrations of The Water-Babies:

Artistic Selection Meets Natural Selection

Miranda J Aristone, 2018

University of Pittsburgh, 2018

This thesis examines the effect of different sets of illustrations on the meaning of Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land-Baby* (1863). In this thesis, I provide background on Kingsley's ideas about the relationship between science and religion to contextualize his use of Darwinian thought in his "fairy tale for a land-baby." Then I show how *The Water-Babies* reconciles Christian belief with Darwinian thought. I offer a reading of *The Water-Babies; a Fairy Tale for a Land-Baby* as a text that brings together Darwinian thought and Christianity, not so much by reconciling them on equal footing as by subordinating Darwin's ideas of natural processes to a Christian notion of moral development. And finally, I review the different ways that the plasticity of the text has been affected by illustrations ranging from the original Linley Sambourne illustrated edition in 1863, which illustrations hold true to the text, as well as editions by Ethell Everett and William Heath Robinson, who both emphasized the religious discourse of the story, as well as various others that emphasize the religious discourse.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.0	INTRODUCTION.....	1
2.0	THE WATER BABIES AND KINGSLEY’S VIEW	7
2.1	KINGSLEY’S NATURAL THEOLOGY OF THE FUTURE	7
2.2	RELIGION IN <i>THE WATER-BABIES</i>	9
2.3	EVOLUTION AND MORALITY IN <i>THE WATER-BABIES</i> \	10
2.4	MORALITY, CLASS, AND RACE IN <i>THE WATER-BABIES</i>	18
3.0	ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE WATER BABIES.....	23
3.1	ILLUSTRATIONS OF RELIGION	23
3.2	SECOND SUBSECTION.....	29
3.3	ILLUSTRATIONS OF RACE AND CLASS	34
3.4	ILLUSTRATIONS TRUE TO TEXT.....	37
	CONCLUSION	41
	APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS.....	43
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	50
	WORK REFERENCED.....	54

PREFACE

Thank you to Amy Murray-Twyning for all of her hard work and dedication.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* caused great turmoil in the 1860s within scientific and religious spheres, as well as within the public. Despite the *Origin's* careful omission of a discussion of human evolution, T.H. Huxley and Richard Owen kept the focus on the problem of human descent through their long-running battle "...over the exact relationship of humans to the higher primates..." (Murphy 6). The impact of Darwin's thought was such that most conservative religious groups believed an impending social collapse would occur because of the theory of evolution, "...as there could be no morality in a world where divine laws were questioned," observes Ruth Murphy in her essay on "Darwin and 1860s Children's Literature" (6). Anxieties over the religious doctrine and science were great as well as social anxieties due to "the suggestion that even the most respectable of Victorian ladies might share common ancestry with apes" (Piers Hale 552). *The Origin of Species* caused a great unrest amongst scientific, religious and social spheres during a time when Christian doctrine had previously been the impetus for scientific discovery and dictated much of Victorian thought. Though "at this time, a natural linkage between religion and nature study was assumed," the Victorian "clergyman naturalists" were keeping their natural study and their theology separate and "avoiding direct mention of the word 'God,' particularly in works intended for children" (L. M. Harper 121). L. M. Harper explains that "there were concerns that when combining science and religious messages in a single text, the emphasis on 'reason' might contribute to the teaching of

materialism if children were put into a position of choosing faith or scientific reasoning” (Harper 121).

Charles Kingsley, a clergyman, professor, and amateur botanist, was a figure situated at the intersection between science and religion. He attempted to navigate this turmoil through the publication of *The Water-Babies: A Fairy-Tale for a Land Baby*, an evolutionary parable about fairies written for adults to read to children. During the Victorian period fairies were used to explain the wonders of nature and science, as well as “to express doubt and anxieties related to the implications of scientific knowledge” (Talarirach- Vielams 19)

“The story he told was particularly shocking because,” as Daniel Dennett in *In Darwin's Wake, Where Am I* emphasizes, because “it functions under the belief that individuals begin life with ‘Absolute Ignorance’ as opposed to the belief that individuals are born with intelligence under a divine plan” (Dennett 358). The implications here affect not only those who want to believe that life begins with the spirit of God, but also those who find it difficult to swallow the idea that mere a mechanism can become what we understand as real intelligence. This notion “remains as indigestible for many contemporary thinkers as it did for Victorians” (Dennett 361). As George Levine suggests in *Reflections on Darwin and Darwinizing*, the most unsettling aspect of *The Water-Babies* is that “It isn’t only God who disappears here, but the very possibility of ethics” (Levine 227).

Kingsley and Darwin shared a plethora of commonalities, from their education at Cambridge, to their careers blossoming around the same time. While Kingsley was appointed Regius Professor in history at Cambridge, his interest in botany and geology along with the influence of English naturalist, P.H. Goose, caused him to also study marine biology and publish *Glaucus, or, The Wonders of the Shore* (Merrill 216). This, as well as a correspondence with

Kingsley, subsequently lead Darwin to “submit to him for review an advanced copy of his manuscript” (Chassagnol 2).

Kingsley’s interest in evolutionary ideas continued to burgeon as he became closely invested with the scientific ‘hippocampus minor’ debate that analyzed anatomical differences and possible distinctions between human brains and those of other species. In fact, he was a strong contributor to the effort to make this controversy known to the public (Talarirach- Vielams 41). This debate transcended beyond the scientific sphere as: “the question of the relationship between humans and primates quickly became a major topic in the press” and “as various types of apes came to symbolize everything that made people uneasy about evolution” (Harper 130). According to Harper, this “produc[ed] a complex nexus of theology, questions over human connection with the divine, morality, class distinction, racism, basic species ethnocentrism, and straightforward sensationalism” (Harper 130). Anxieties over man’s relationship to apes was so strong that “By 1862, the year before Kingsley published *The Water Babies* the ‘brain controversy’ was clearly linked to man’s supposed ‘descent’ from the apes” (Petzold 59).

Kingsley goes on to mock the conservative resistance to evolution when he famously writes about the ‘hippocampus test’ in the following passage:

Nothing is to be depended on but the great hippopotamus test. If you have a hippopotamus major in your brain, you are no ape, though you had four hands and, no feet, and were no more apeish than the apes of all aeries. But, if a hippopotamus major is ever discovered in one single ape’s brain, nothing will save your great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-greater-greatest-grandmother from having been an ape too. No, my dear little man; always remember that the one true, certain, final, and all-important difference between you and an ape is, that you have a

hippopotamus major in your brain, and it has none; and that therefore to discover one in its brain will be a very wrong and dangerous thing, at which everyone will be very much shocked, as we may suppose they were at the professor. – Though really, after all it don't much matter.... Nobody but men have hippopotamuses in their brains, so, if a hippopotamus was discovered in an ape's brain, why it would not be one, you know, but something else. (70)

Signaled by this mockery of the anti-evolutionist perspective, Kingsley's acceptance of Darwin's evolutionary ideas, "or at least his interpretation of them" can be discovered throughout *The Water-Babies* (Harper 130).

To remind readers, *The Water-Babies* is the story of Tom, the ignorant and abused chimney sweep, who sets off with his master to the local squire's house. Along the way he encounters an Irishwoman who encourages him to be clean, however, Tom does not realize he is dirty until he finds himself lost in the maze of chimney flues in the squire's home. He discovers himself in young Ellie's room, and there he is able to view his reflection in the mirror. After startling the young girl, Tom runs off, her scream causing all of the staff to mistake him for a thief and give chase to him. After crossing through moors and scouring down a steep cliff into the neighboring town of Vendale, Tom presumably dies from exhaustion (or perhaps a fall), drowning in a stream.

From there he begins a fantastical journey in which he "...regresses to an embryonic form of his own self" (Chassagnol 3). He is then re-born as a water baby who undergoes a physical evolution that becomes an expression of his moral growth, unsurprisingly as most of the post-Darwinian science focused on the "likeness and transformation, about the ways in which things resembled each other or, even, could turn into one another" (Hodgson 242). After Tom's death he

becomes a water baby, an amphibious creature described as being “3.87902 inches long and having round the parotid region of his fauces a set of external gills, ... just like those of a sucking eft” (32). From there Tom encounters a series of sea-creatures and fairies who help him on his journey. Tom’s journey is not complete, however, until he travels to the other-side-of-nowhere, where he encounters one last fairy, Mother Carey, the symbol of creationism. She aids him in his final redemption, forgiving Mr. Grimes for treating him poorly. This final act consists of Tom helping Grimes acknowledge some of his wrongdoings in order to serve more of his penance. Once this is complete Tom is allowed to return to the other water-babies and Ellie, only he returns as a fully grown proper English man. The fairies reveal themselves to be one and the same being, and then inform Ellie that she “may take him home with [her] now on Sundays” (165).

In this thesis, I will first provide background on Kingsley’s ideas about the relationship between science and religion to contextualize his use of Darwinian thought in his “fairy tale for a land-baby.” Then I will show how *The Water-Babies* reconciles Christian belief with Darwinian thought. I offer a reading of *The Water Babies; a Fairy-tale for a Land Baby* as a text that brings together Darwinian thought and Christianity, not so much by reconciling them on equal footing as by subordinating Darwin’s ideas of natural processes to a Christian notion of moral development. And finally, I will review the different ways that the plasticity of the text has been affected by illustrations ranging from the original Linley Sambourne illustrated edition in 1863 which illustrations hold true to the text, as well editions by Ethell Everett, and William Heath Robinson who both emphasized the religious discourse of the story, as well as various others that emphasize the religious discourse.

Second paragraph.

2.0 THE WATER BABIES AND KINGSLEY'S VIEW

First paragraph.

Second paragraph.

2.1 KINGSLEY'S NATURAL THEOLOGY OF THE FUTURE

Charles Kingsley attempts to repair the growing rift between science and Christianity with his speech given at Sion College in 1871: "The Natural Theology of the Future." In this lecture, he rejects neither scripture nor science, believing that ultimately, they will be found to coincide, arguing that a "God who satisfies our conscience ought more or less to satisfy our reason also" (Kingsley "The Natural Theology of the Future"). After acknowledging the fear felt amongst religious communities, Kingsley declares that he believes, "the theology of the National Church of England, as by law established, to be eminently rational as well as scriptural" (Kingsley "The Natural Theology of the Future"). He first establishes a view in favor of a non-literal translation of the Bible by citing verses and occurrences in the Bible known to be fictional. This analysis allows him to conclude that "as we proceed, we find nothing in the general tone of the Scripture which can hinder our natural theology being at once scriptural and scientific" (Kingsley "The Natural Theology of the Future"). He then further challenges the theological community and beliefs by calling for a belief in a God whose character is "not merely of love, but of sternness" (Kingsley "The Natural Theology of the Future"), evidence of which is cited in both the Old and New Testament as well as can be seen in natural disasters and the pain and

suffering in the world. This call to analyze the Bible more thoroughly demonstrates Kingsley's attempt to reconcile past beliefs with newly discovered scientific theory. In his speech he not only challenges the belief that science and scripture can fit together, but also that religious spheres are not accurately reading many aspects of the Bible.

Kingsley challenges these pre-existing notions to set the stage for his thoughts on reconciling the two discourses. He points out that physical science is currently highlighting the importance of "race; the importance of hereditary powers, hereditary organs, hereditary habits, in all organized beings, from the lowest plant to the highest animal," and claims that the Bible has already done so, that, "Its sense of the reality and importance of descent is so intense, that it speaks of a whole tribe or a whole family by the name of its common ancestor, and the whole nation of Jews is Israel, to the end" (Kingsley "The Natural Theology of the Future"). He finally argues that not only do scripture and science address the same topics, but that they support one another. He does this by claiming that, "the Creator bears the same relation to the whole universe as that Creator undeniably bears to every individual human body," (Kingsley "The Natural Theology of the Future") therefore implying that God is responsible for the creation of the world and therefore everything discovered in the sphere of Natural science can be accredited to God. Kingsley also believes that God is the force behind evolution. In the same speech he discusses the greatness of God, saying he is so wise, "that He can make all things make themselves" (Kingsley "The Natural Theology of the Future"), interestingly the same description he gives to Mother Carey. In sum, while Kingsley endorses Darwin's theories as a true account of species change, unlike Darwin, he retains the belief that God drives evolution through the instrument of morality.

2.2 RELIGION IN *THE WATER-BABIES*

While many of Kingsley's opinions in *The Water Babies* are unclear, there's no denying the value Kingsley places on religion. Tom's main flaws, as identified in the first passage, are that, "He had never been taught to say his prayers," and that, "He had never heard of God" (WB 1). Most of Kingsley's intentions are implicitly stated, but here readers can see the blatant importance of religion, and Kingsley's immediate intersection of discourses. Kingsley immediately associates religious education with the ability to read, the color white, and cleanliness by listing Tom's lack of these things as flaws since "...a major source for his religious thinking: the theocentric and thoroughly racialized historicism of the Liberal Anglicans" (Walker 342).

While Tom's evolution is apparent, religion as the driving force of this evolution is made clear when he meets Mother Carey, the Godlike figure who is representative of creationism. It is she to whom Tom must go to in order to fulfill his final reconciliation and act of forgiveness and kindness. In meeting her, he discovers that she is in charge of creating new creatures. When Tom asks for her help he acknowledges how busy she is in an effort to be polite, noting that: "I heard, ma'am, that you were always making new beasts out of old," to which she responds, "So people fancy. But I am not going to trouble myself to make things, my little dear. I sit here and make them make themselves" (135). After leading Tom back from "The-Other-End-of-Nowhere" it is revealed that Mother Carey is the same being as Mrs. BeDoneByasYouDid, Mrs. Doasyouwouldbedoneby, and the Irishwoman. Similarly to the blessed trinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, these figures are all believed to be one, all with functions similar to that of God. It appears that Kingsley added Mother Carey, a fourth member, in order to incorporate the function of evolution, as she is in charge of making creatures evolve. Mrs. Doasyouwouldbedoneby functions to give the water babies unconditional love, managing to do the impossible task of

cradling all of them at the exact time, and Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid functions to reprimand and assign penance. She is the one who gives Tom his prickles when he steals sweets, and she is also the one who checked the news every day looking for crimes. She looks after those who deliberately sin all week long, which readers later see at “The-Other-End-of-Nowhere.” And lastly, the Irishwoman seems to function similarly to Jesus. She is permitted to walk the Earth. Instead of being Jewish, she is Kingsley’s opinion of a low-class individual in England at the time and is therefore an Irishwoman. Her mission seems to be to turn individuals towards God, since she encourages Mr. Grimes and Tom to be clean when she says, “those that wish to be clean, clean they be; and those that wish to be foul, foul they will be. Remember” (8).

2.3 EVOLUTION AND MORALITY IN *THE WATER-BABIES*

Kingsley’s comment about *The Water-Babies* to his mentor in theology, Maurice, shows its connection to the ideas in his lecture on “The Natural Theology of the Future:”

When you read it, I hope you will see that I have not been idling my time away. I have tried, in all sorts of queer ways, to make children and grown folks understand that there is a quite miraculous & divine element underlying all physical nature... And I have wrapped up my parable in seeming Tom-fooleries, it is because so only could I get the pill swallowed by a generation who are not believing, with anything like their whole heart, in the Living God... Meanwhile, remember that the physical science in the book is *not* nonsense, but accurate, earnest, as far as I dare speak yet. I am busy working out points of Natural Theology, by the strange light of Huxley, Darwin & Lyell. (Kingsley qtd. in Hale 560)

Kingsley's position as an Anglican clergyman and chaplain to Queen Victoria as well as a devotee of Darwin gave him a unique perspective on both religion and evolution. It also allowed him to see the struggle emerging amongst the population at the time "that now [that] they have got rid of an interfering God—as master magician, as I call it—they have to choose between the absolute empire of accident, and a lively, imminent, ever-working God" (Kingsley; qtd. in Hawley). It prompted him to develop a solution that explains the theory of evolution within the greater context of Christianity, which he then instructed to children whom he believed to be malleable enough to accept the philosophy.

Kingsley's opinions on evolution are evident from the moment Tom becomes a water-baby for what follows is one of Kingsley's lessons on the proper disposition toward scientific revelations. In response to the imagined child reader's protest that there are "no such things as water babies," the narrator expounds:

How do you know that? Have you been there to see? And if you had been there to see, and had seen none, that would not prove that there were none. And no one has a right to say that no water-babies exist, till they have seen no water-babies existing; which is quite a different thing, mind, from not seeing water-babies; and a thing nobody ever did, or perhaps will ever do. (32)

This is a version of Kingsley's stance on the proper relationship to the natural world as a place that reveals God's nature combined with scientific logic in which belief should not preempt discovery. The narrator insists that a premature conclusion about what "is contrary to nature" must be combated by the humble realization that "you do not know what Nature is, or what she can do; and nobody knows" (33).

The narrator goes on to instruct the reader to listen respectfully to “Mr. Darwin,” and other professors; and introduces the caution that just because science says something “cannot exist,” does not mean that is the case (33). This adds to scientific thought a place for faith and the anticipation of further natural change as a revelation of a divine unfolding. The narrator points out how unbelievable the concept of an acorn becoming a tree is to suggest that no possibility should be ruled out. The narrator then goes on to say that if people use the phrase “cannot” too often, “the Queen of all of the Fairies who makes the clouds thunder and the fleas bite, and takes just as much trouble about one as the other, is apt to astonish them suddenly by showing them, that though they say she cannot, yet she can, and what is more, will, whether they approve or not” (33). The “Queen of all the Fairies” is inferred to be God in this case. The care in making “clouds thunder and fleas bite” is a reference to creationism. Finally, the narrator insists the Queen of all Fairies can demonstrate anything that the scientists believe not to be possible, an allusion to miracles aiding a non-believer, and finally asserts that God will continue to exist whether science wants to accept it or not. After a long disquisition on the history of things that have been proven to exist but were previously thought “contrary to nature” the narrator concludes: “why should not there be changes in the higher animals far more wonderful, and far more difficult to discover?” (35).

It quickly becomes evident, however, that Kingsley subordinates the principle of natural selection to morality as the driving force behind physical change. As soon as Tom begins to experience the world as a water-baby, he is introduced to an evolutionary hierarchy that is moral in nature, beginning with what the narrator describes as “water-monkeys and water-squirrels” and “water-flowers,” or algae and other plankton like creatures. Treating such creatures as lesser than himself, Tom immediately learns a lesson regarding his actions. After Tom torments a larva,

he witnesses it transform into a dragon-fly, who refuses to play with Tom and dismisses him with a superior attitude. The rebuff makes Tom reflect on his actions and realize that he should not torment creatures smaller than him because of the possibility that they are more than they appear.

Further instances of Kingsley merging evolution and morality abound. At one point, Tom encounters a pair of salmon who offer to guide him closer to the sea, where they inform him the rest of the water babies reside. They also inform him that the trout he previously encountered were related to them. They say that:

‘A great many years ago they were just like us: but they were so lazy, and cowardly, and greedy, that instead of going down to the sea every year to see the world and grow big and strong and fat, they chose to stay and poke about in the little streams and eat worms and grubs; and they are very properly punished for it; for they have grown ugly and brown and spotted and small; and are actually so degraded in their tastes, that they will eat our own children.’ (55)

This is one of the many instances in the book when physicality is shown to depend on one’s actions. The trout were lazy and immoral and therefore grew ugly, whereas the salmon were regarded as “true gentleman” (55). Albeit in an incorrect reading of *Origin of Species*, Kingsley demonstrates that he believes creatures have changed physically due to actions, not environmental circumstance. Tom finally receives an opportunity to exercise his learned morality when he approaches a lobster who gets stuck in a cage. He helps the lobster get free before a fisherman lifts the cage and Tom rewarded. After observing Tom’s kind action, the other water-babies, who have been guiding Tom all along, reveal themselves to him. This first step in acting morally indirectly leads to Tom’s physical evolution since the water-babies aid in that process

overall. These heavenly water-babies are also seen aiding Tom more frequently as Tom undergoes the continuation of his moral journey.

Perhaps the most immediate instance of the correlation between morality and evolution is when Tom steals sweets from the cabinet of Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid and degenerates as a result. Not only does he steal a sweet, but he was gluttonous and ate until he was sick. Then he further compounds this transgression by lying about it to the fairy. He was punished by developing physical prickles over his body, which is described as being "...quite natural; for you must know and believe that people's souls make their bodies just as a snail makes its shell... And therefore, when Tom's soul grew all prickly with naughty tempers, his body could not help growing prickly too, so that nobody would cuddle him, or play with him, or like to look at him" (107). His degenerated physical condition is then reversed when he confesses and asks for forgiveness. At this point, the moral tale is foremost, and the reader realizes the nature of Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid as well as the key to her name. She is the principle of moral justice whereby a person earns the treatment that agrees with that person's behavior. Her other nature, which appears to those who obey the Golden Rule and treat others as they would be treated is Mrs. DoAsYouWouldBeDoneBy. Again, this fundamental Christian morality is used to frame evolution and degeneration. Morality determines physicality.

The ways in which Kingsley combined evolutionary ideas with Christian morality are perhaps best demonstrated through Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid's tale of the DoAsYouLikes in which we see Kingsley's belief that that evolutionary change can move backwards as well as forwards and beings can degenerate toward an ancestry that is lower in a Victorian hierarchy. She tells Tom and Ellie of a group of people who lived on an island so fruitful and peaceful that they became lazy. And though she warned them that the volcano on their island may erupt by

having the volcano to emit smoke, nevertheless, the DoAsYouLikes ignored the warning, and many perished in the eruption. The DoAsYouLikes then were forced to live off roots and nuts, and as Ellie described, were “growing no better than savages” (114). They grow weak in numbers and then “only the strongest and most active ones who could climb the trees” survived the lions who began to prey on them. Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid explains that the DoAsYouLikes males grew stronger but, in a line, away from homo sapiens, “for the ladies will not marry any but the very strongest and fiercest gentlemen, who can help them up the trees out of the lions’ way” (115). Here Kingsley can be seen using Darwin’s ideas of adaptive traits and evolution; the DoAsYouLikes adapt through natural selection to the conditions of their environment. However, they would not be said to “evolve” in the sense that is often associated with development for the better. Instead, their species change is the result of moral failing, which puts them on a degenerated scale relative to the valued human ideal.

The DoAsYouLikes lose their ability to speak, and breed hairier and hairier children until finally, they are all apes who eventually die out. Not only does Kingsley believe in moral evolution, but he believes in moral degeneration, since it was laziness and a lack of morals that prevented the DoAsYouLikes from moving away from the volcano. This allusion of the DoAsYouLikes depicts his belief that: ““Undeniably the facts show that degradation in mankind is as easy and as common as progress. You have only to leave civilized human beings to themselves for them to become savages”” (Kingsley qtd. In Hale 590).

This theme of physical degeneration based on morality is present throughout the tale. On Tom’s journey to other-side-of-nowhere, he encounters a pack of mollys who help him along his way. While the theme of degeneration is less explicit than in Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid’s cautionary tale, the mollys explain that they ““...are the spirits of the old Greenland skippers (as

every sailor knows), who hunted here, right whales and horse-whales, full hundreds of years ago. But, because we were saucy and greedy, we were all turned into mollys, to eat whale's blubber all our days'" (130). Once again, a lack of morals caused a physical change in the skippers. Unlike the gradual descent of the DoAsYouLikes which modeled adaptive traits, the skippers received retribution for their actions through a rash physical change. The narrator even goes as far as to defend his idea of degeneration in regard to social implications by saying:

If he says that things cannot degrade, that is, change downwards into lower forms, ask him, who told him that the water-babies were lower than land-babies? But even if they were, does he know about the strange degradation of the common goose-barnacles, which one finds sticking on ships' bottoms; or the still stranger degradation of some cousins of theirs, of which one hardly likes to talk, so shocking and ugly that it is. (35)

His defense is that if degeneration exists between creatures on a social level, no one would admit to it because that would mean admitting they were related to those who might bring shame or cause embarrassment by association, especially that of blood.

It is only in the end when Tom has completed his journey to the other-side-of-nowhere and learned all that he could about morals and how to behave that he completes his physical evolution. Although Kingsley rejects the concept of purgatory, he believes in the Puritan doctrines of final judgement and uses the other-side-of-nowhere to suggest, "that God offer postmortem rehabilitation for society's victims" (Hamlin 270). Tom's task is to do the thing he doesn't want to do, which is to help Mr. Grimes with his own redemption. Tom finds Mr. Grimes in the other-side-of-nowhere, which functions like the Catholic ideal of purgatory. He discovers Grimes stuck in chimney No. 345, being forced to clean and being beaten. It appears that Grimes is being punished by being treated the way he treated Tom for when he exhorts that

he did not ask for this treatment Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid appears as “the spirit of justice” replying that Grimes did not ask for it, “No more did Tom, when [Grimes] behaved to him in the same way” (159). Tom attempts to pull out the bricks of the chimney in order to free Grimes but the truncheon informs him that Grimes, “has come to the place where everybody must help themselves.” (158). However, his good nature towards Grimes despite the way Grimes treated him causes Grimes to reflect and offer Tom an act of kindness. He encourages Tom to leave before the hail comes, since it will “beat the eyes out of [his] little head”(159). It is only then that Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid reminds him the hail is his mother’s tears that she wept while praying for her son, only they freeze when they get close to Grimes since his heart is so cold. But she informs him that his mother, “is gone to heaven now, and will weep no more for her graceless son” (159). Tom inquiries about Grime’s mother whom he coincidentally encountered in Vendale in the beginning of the story and explains his journey. It is only then that Grimes reflects on the repercussions of his actions and on his mother and cries. His tears serve to cleanse him, symbolic for him renouncing his sins. At this, Mrs. Dobyasyoudid appears in place of Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid, informing Grimes that it’s “Never too late” (160) and that Christian reconciliation is always possible. By taking responsibility for some of his actions and feeling sympathy for someone else, Mr. Grimes is granted his “ticket-of-leave” and the truncheon takes him to what appears to be a less harsh punishment, sweeping the crater of Etna with men who “will teach him his business” (161). With that Tom has completed his task. Once he returns from the other-side-of-nowhere he is described as “a tall man” (164). Upon completing his moral evolution, Tom completes a physical one. He is no longer a water-baby with gills but a grown man with the bearing of a gentleman.

Using Grimes retribution Kingsley highlights that morality dictates one's social evolution. It is revealed that Grimes is from the town of Vendale, and his mother was a school teacher. It can be assumed that Grimes obtained moral education as a child from his mother, and while this education is essential to a high social status, Kingsley points out that is a choice to then *be* moral. Grimes had all of the resources to make moral choices and yet chose not to be moral and therefore become the lowliest of status. This point is further highlighted when Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid tells Tom that, "'Indeed, if you had not made up your mind to go on a journey, and see the world, like an Englishman, I am not sure but that you would have ended up as an eel in a pond'"(116), and tells Grimes that he "knew well enough that he was disobeying something, though [he] did not know it was me"(161).

2.4 MORALITY, CLASS, AND RACE IN *THE WATER-BABIES*

Were this book solely concerned with Tom as a boy who "had never been taught to say his prayers" and "never heard of God," the book would stand out as a piece of careful philosophy in which physical evolution is subordinated to and an expression of moral evolution. However, Ellie's story and its difference from Tom's reveals a Social Darwinist thread to Kingsley's understanding of evolution. As Hamlin argues, "For Kingsley, race, like species, is a product of behavior and hence partly of choice, though heredity, heritage, climate, and conditions influence what one is" (Hamlin 262). Readers can see Kingsley shape his vision of the pinnacle of evolution as a Christian when they are introduced to young Ellie. Like Tom, Ellie also dies in the frame of the story, but unlike Tom, Ellie goes straight to heaven and becomes an angel: "one

moonlight night, the fairies came flying in at the window and brought her such a pretty pair of wings that she could not help putting them on; and she flew with them out of the window and over the land, and over the sea, and up through the clouds..." (74).

Ellie does not need an evolutionary journey to get to heaven because she is, presumably, already well-instructed in morality and has made morally right choices. However, her goodness is saturated with racial imagery. Ellie, "the little lady in white" (11) is described as "the most beautiful little girl Tom had ever seen" (10) and "as if she had been an angel straight out of heaven" (10). The entire scene in which Ellie is introduced ties Christian morality to white racial purity. Tom stands in awe when he enters Ellie's room to find it "all dressed in white, -- white window curtains, white bed-curtains, white furniture, and white walls..." (9). Looking around the room, Tom is drawn to two iconic pictures of Christ: "one, a man in long garments, with little children and their mothers round him, who was laying his hand upon the children's heads" and the other a depiction of the crucifixion (9). The description combines several discourses and themes that then carry out through the story, her whiteness and cleanliness are conflated with her Christian belief in God. This moment is juxtaposed with Tom's self-discovery. Seeing Ellie's cleanliness, Tom realizes he is dirty. However, this realization is cast in racialized terms:

looking round, he suddenly saw, standing close to him, a little ugly, black, ragged figure, with bleared eyes and grinning white teeth. He turned on it angrily. What did such a little black ape want in that sweet young lady's room? (10)

At that moment, Tom realizes he is seeing himself in the mirror: "His lack of religious education and his lack of cleanliness are tied to his lack of exposure to nature: they are part and parcel of what Kingsley saw as the same moral message" (Harper 128). His reaction combines a horror of his own dirtiness and of his own racially other appearance because while Tom may not recognize

a depiction of Jesus, he does recognize a depiction of “savages.” His interpretation of the picture of the crucifixion, which he deems a curiously violent picture to have in a lady’s room, is that it “was some kind of kinsman of hers, who had been murdered by savages in foreign parts” (9). Unlike “savages” however, Tom has an innate sense of morality embedded in his racial identity that is awakened by his encounter with Ellie.

Tom’s innate sense of morality is evident in the way he is drawn to the stream that would become the location for the start of his evolutionary journey. As Tom becomes faint with exhaustion, he hears church bells that lead him towards civilization. However, as Tom begins what is his implicit and imminent death, it is suggested that the church bells were in his own head (17). As Tom reaches a stream he becomes consumed with the idea of being clean, and lies in it, which can be symbolically viewed as Tom’s baptism as well as his death. At the moment of his death Tom thinks that he, “must be quick and wash myself; the bells are ringing quite loud now; and they will stop soon, and then the door will be shut, and I shall never be able to get in at all” (26). While Tom is accurately following the pre-established rule that cleanliness and religion are associated, it is implied that religion would have prevented his death as, “in England the church doors are left open all service time” (27), and Tom could have turned to the church for aid in his exhaustion. This is the framework Kingsley leaves before Tom begins his fantastical adventure, an adventure that teaches Christian morality, but which presupposes the moral sense and tenaciousness of a “brave, determined, little English bull-dog” (62) or the very epitome of Englishness.

This idea that the lower class is so low they are in danger of devolving into primates is present during the previously mentioned tale of the DoAsYouLikes. The DoAsYouLikes become apes because they are lazy, all of which are negative stereotypes and beliefs associated

with blacks at the time. Kingsley intersects his opinions on class and race by identifying the lower class with similar characteristics of what he believes to be lesser races, using natural selection as evidence of a hierarchy between the races, “indicating that God had willed certain races to succeed over others, at least insofar as some were less inclined toward making the proper volitional choices” (Sheley 136). His racial commentary does not limit itself to just people of African descent, Kingsley makes negative associations and references to the Irish, and to Americans, leading one to believe that Kingsley rejects anyone who is not a white Englishman, whom he places at the pinnacle of his social evolutionary hierarchy. This is further supported by the narrator addressing the *reader* as an English boy. When he talks about the town of Vendale he suggests that, “..you will have found such a country, and such a people, as ought to make you proud of being a British boy” (21). This implies that Kingsley’s intended reader was a British boy, and a British boy alone.

The motif of cleanliness throughout the story highlights Kingsley’s class prejudice and racism. From the moment Kingsley begins his tale, he establishes his opinions on both class and race. While he mocks the absurdity of child labor through the narrator’s casual tone at the heinous mistreatment of Tom, explaining that he was beaten and hungry every day of the week, this narrative also serves to set up a hierarchy within Victorian society at the time. Tom dreams of one day having his own apprentices to beat, just like his master. Kingsley devotes the opening of the novel to establishing that Tom’s orphan status not only puts him below his master, Grimes, but so low below him that Grimes had the power to exploit and abuse him. Kingsley further establishes this hierarchy by associating class with cleanliness. He states that Tom, “could not read nor write, and did not care to do either; and he never washed himself, for there was no water up the court where he lived” (Kingsley 1). He depicts both Tom and Grimes as being dirty, a

physical mark of their low class that also suggests a racialized hierarchy. The story begins with Tom and Grimes headed off to do a job at a home where the previous chimney sweep had gone to prison, which lessens the moral credibility of those who serve in the lowly position of a chimney-sweep. Kingsley then depicts Grimes' relationship to Sir John as "a grand old man whom even Mr. Grimes respected; for not only could he send Mr. Grimes to prison when he deserved it, as he did once or twice a week; not only did he own all the land about for miles; not only was he a jolly, honest, sensible squire, as ever kept a pack of hounds who would do what he thought was right by his neighbors, as well as get what he thought right for himself..." (2). This places Grimes far below the village squire in a hierarchy even he notices. Kingsley adds one more status into his introductory hierarchy of class by noting Tom's surprise at the friendship between Grimes, who also poaches fish, and the keeper of the Sir John's property, since, Kingsley explains to the reader, "He did not know that a keeper is only a poacher turned outside in, and a poacher a keeper turned inside out" (6).

Kingsley places much of one's ranking within social evolutionary hierarchy on the individual, by demonstrating the choice that goes into morality and education. However, while Tom evolves into a man at the end of the journey, there are some social limitations that he cannot overcome, despite his education. The narrator chides the reader by suggesting that Tom marrying Ellie, despite their apparent romance, was "a silly notion," and states, "Don't you know that no one ever marries in a fairy tale, under the rank of a prince or a princess?" (165) Although he had evolved, there was a limitation to his status, and no way for him to become evolved enough to marry Ellie.

3.0 ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE WATER BABIES

3.1 ILLUSTRATIONS OF RELIGION

The meaning behind Kingsley's story is not quite so concrete that it cannot be affected by illustrations and especially the relationship between Darwinism and religion in the 1915 publication included illustration by comic illustrator, William Heath Robinson. He took on the project of *The Water-Babies* in 1915, during a time when most of his efforts were devoted to World War I comics for the press (Hamilton 71). The horror of the war inspired Christian unity in anti-revolutionary ideas. Aspects of German warfare were even being blamed on the Darwinian idea of survival of the fittest (Evolution, Revolution). Robinson not only had strong ties to anti-war efforts, he had past experience illustrating Darwin's *Descent of Man*. He believed the "gruesome streak" and cynicism, "...made it the least popular of his series to date" (Hamilton 54), stating that: "People want their humor to be as light as it can be, and for the time be reminded of nothing serious and heavy. Cynicism, I find, is particularly unpopular" (Robinson; qtd. in Hamilton 54).

Robinson's anti- evolutionary ties can be seen through what he doesn't include in his illustrations. He does not depict Tom's physical stature changing in any way despite him turning from human to water baby, to prickly water baby, and then back. In his interpretation of the following passage:

The little girl seemed hardly to know how to begin; and perhaps she would never have begun at all if poor Tom had not burst out crying and begged her to teach him to be

good and help him cure his prickles; and at that she grew so tender-hearted that she began teaching him as prettily as ever child was taught in the world (108).

And what did the little girl teach Tom? She taught him, first, what you have been taught ever since you first said your prayers at your mother's knees; but she taught him much more simply. For the lessons in that world, my child, have no such hard words in them as the lessons in this, and therefore the water-babies like them better than you like your lessons, and long to learn them more and more; and grown men cannot puzzle nor quarrel over their meaning, as they do here on land; for those lessons all rise clear and pure, like the Test out of Overton Pool, out of the everlasting ground of all life and truth.

She taught Tom every day in the week; only on Sundays she always went away on Sundays, his prickles had vanished quite away, and his skin was smooth and clear again. (Kingsley 108)

Here readers see the value Kingsley places on education and morality. Tom's evolution is apparent through his physical change. He *de*volves as his behavior gets less moral until Ellie, an upright Christian girl, instructs him on morality. Kingsley hints that these lessons should be taught by mothers but places emphasis on the repercussions of a lack of morality. He also insults the older generation who have not reconciled with the idea of evolution by pointing out that grown men quarrel over the idea. This approach subtly instructs parents to teach their children about morality and implies Kingsley's argument that evolution falls within the realm of Christian revelation. It is clear that Ellie is of a higher standard than Tom, and because she is the one instructing him, perhaps she is meant to be the goal of his evolution. She also follows the commandment of observing the Sabbath day, but evolutionary ideas are more prominent in this passage than those of Christianity.

Despite the text's emphasis on evolution, we see that Robinson made the decision to represent Tom with his "smooth clean skin" (Figure 1) instead of emphasizing his prickles, the product of his physical devolution based on his morality. Robinson's distinct line style involving open lines with frontal elevation and minimal background (Hamilton 113) is evident in this image; however, it's important to notice the attention to detail in Ellie. While Robinson isn't emphasizing a physical evolution, Ellie, the good Christian is highly detailed which contrasts many of the illustrations that involve simpler outlines. Robinson makes Ellie's status as a Christian who has already ascended to heaven important through the body language of the characters. Tom is kneeling in front her putting himself in a position of lower elevation as well as the practice of prayer. Ellie is standing raised above Tom, looking down upon him, with her feet at an angle to the ground in a way that not only elevates her above him but makes her look as if she is floating. This notion is supported by the white cloth wrapped around her that also appears to be being lifted upward. This upward movement could be read as a Godlike ascent, further emphasizing Ellie's Christian ascent to heaven. Robinson's choice of emphasis can cause readers to interpret the story as less of an evolutionary tale and overlook how the science can be incorporated within Christian revelation. Ellie and Tom are both clean white English children in the illustrations. The negative consequence of Tom's actions can easily be overlooked because he is only depicted as looking normal whereas the text emphasizes the physical blemishes that result from his immorality. Also, the distinction between Ellie and Tom is not as entirely obvious, which one could interpret to mean the status of a Christian Englishman is easily attainable and not much higher than the status of Tom, an uneducated orphan boy.

Emphasis on the religious aspect of the story can be further seen when Robinson chooses to illustrate the following passage:

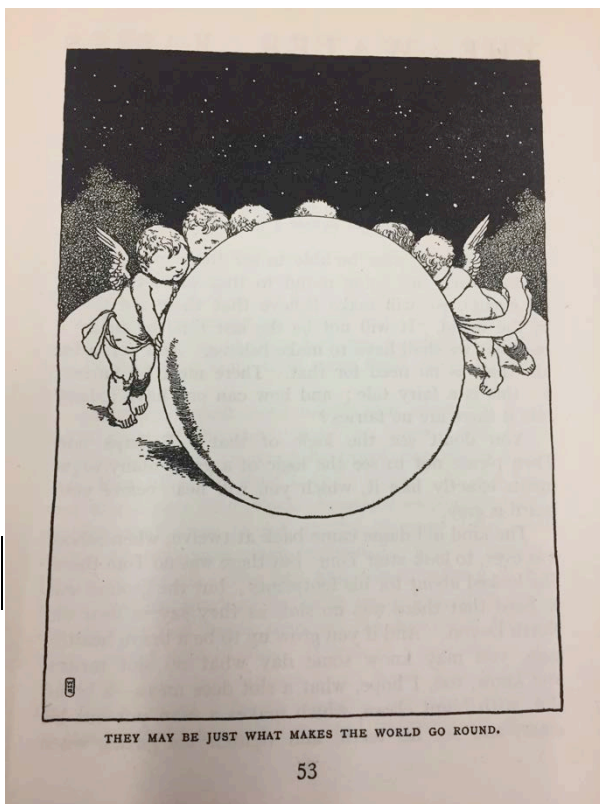
Some people think there are no fairies. Cousin Cramchild tells folks so in his Conversations. Well, perhaps there are none- in Boston, U.S., where he was raised. There are only a clumsy lot of spirits there, who can't make people hear without thumping on the table: but they get their living thereby, and I suppose that is all they want. And Aunt Agitate, in her Arguments on political economy, say there are none. Well perhaps there are none-in her political economy. But it is a wide world, my little man-and thank Heaven for it, for else between crinolines and theories, some of us would get squashed-and plenty of room in it for fairies, without people seeing them, unless of course they look in the right place. The most wonderful and the strongest things in the world, you know, are the things which no one can see. There is life in you; and it's the life in you which makes you grow, and move, and think: yet you can't see it. And there is steam in a steam-engine; and that is what makes it move: and yet you can't see it; and so there may be fairies in the world, and they may be just what makes the world go round to the old tune of

"C'est l'amour, l'amour, l'amour
Qui fait le monde a la ronde:"

And yet no one may be able to see them except those whose hearts are going round to that same tune. (Kingsley, 28-9)

Here readers see Kingsley attempt to justify the existence of fairies, the overall guides of Tom's journey. Kingsley begins this passage using a technique he relies heavily on throughout the

story, presenting a counterargument by introducing an ambiguous "other" character, in this case Cousin Cramchild, whose character he derogates throughout the story. He refers to him as being American, which is solidified as an insult when Cousin Cramchild is referenced again as living in a land where boys have no respect because they can all grow up to be the president (Kingsley, 72). He also establishes Cousin Cramchild as knowing less about the cycle of life than the Greeks, who are heathens (Kingsley, 35). The narrator uses this technique of an ambiguous other to lower the credibility of anyone who counters the argument. He uses it again when he references Aunt Agitate, and her arguments. Her very name itself, Agitate, has a negative connotation, and her argument is that fairies cannot exist in a "political economy", which the



narrator counters by implying there are things that exist beyond a political economy. He then goes on to directly reference religion when he encourages the reader to "thank Heaven" for the creation of the world, implying that God and the Christian theory of creationism are accurate accounts of the creation of the universe. He then exposes the illogic of trying to prove a negative, by saying just because you can't see something doesn't mean it doesn't exist.

This small passage interjecting the plot does enforce the religious objective of the story, yet it is a

small passage in the overall narrative explaining the de-evolution of Tom. Yet this is what Robinson chooses to depict as seen in Figure 2. The fairies are all shown as infants with light hair, and white sashes, emphasizing their innocence. The fairies are never described in the text

as being dressed in any particular manner, however Robinson chose to wrap them in white garments, similar to Ellie, that appear to be floating or ascending, alluding the Christian belief of an ascent to Heaven upon death. The fairies are also shown with wings that resemble a traditional depiction of angel wings. They are seemingly above the Earth and making it spin, implying they have great power. Even though Robinson is known for a simple line style and whitespace the scene takes place in a detailed landscape, complete with trees and stars which insinuates a world above the Earth where the fairies exist. This combined with their wings and cloth can allow the reader to unconsciously infer the fairies are actually angels, though it never explicitly says so in the text. By illustrating this small passage in the text with religious undertones, Robinson can change the readers' interpretation of the fairies for the duration of the text, as well as leave an image in their mind of an angelic fairy, despite the lack of description by Kingsley.

This technique of highlighting religious aspects of the story can be seen through many republished editions of *The Water Babies*. Illustrator Maria L. Kirk, through an entirely different artistic style, also chose to emphasize the religious nature surrounding Ellie. When she first discovers Tom as water baby she "jumps in after him" and it is implied that she dies as a direct result. Her death scene is described in the following passage:

And, after a week, one moonlight night, the fairies came flying in at the window and brought her such a pretty pair of wings that she could not help putting them on; and she flew with them out of the window, and over the land, and over the sea, and up through the clouds, and nobody heard or saw anything of her for a very long while. (Kingsley, Pg. 74)

Kingsley never explicitly states that Ellie dies. Ellie however is already a well-educated Christian. Therefore, when she dies she does not become a water baby, Kingsley alludes to her ascent to Heaven when he describes her receiving wings, attributed to angels, and up through the clouds, above the earth with Heaven is believed to be located. Though in this story it states that she becomes a fairy, and not an angel, Kirk depicts Ellie standing by the river with a halo over her head (Figure 3). Once again, there another example of an illustration potentially influencing the reader as it is not clear that Ellie died, and only implied that she becomes an angel. While this notion is later supported in the text through Ellie's visitation rights on Sunday, the Sabbath day in Christianity, Kirk securely puts it in a reader's mind who is familiar with Christian imagery that Ellie is in fact an angel.

3.2 SECOND SUBSECTION.

Though there were illustrators who choose to depict religious aspects of the story, there were also those who chose to depict the secular aspects of it. Warwick Goble, illustrator of the 1909 edition of *The Water Babies*, was educated at the City of London Art School. While Goble did not have direct ties to Darwin himself, he is the accredited author to texts that have an evolutionary or scientific slant, both Charles Dickens' *Great Expectations* and H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds*. Goble was fascinated with the Far East and was "strongly influenced by Chinese paintings and Japanese art" (The Studio, Pg. 147). His drawings were described as "consciously oriental" (The Studio, Pg. 147) as well as displayed in exhibitions with other Eastern artists such as Yoshio Markino (The Studio, Pg. 147).

Goble depicts Tom with creatures and animals in 13 out of his 31 illustrations, accentuating Tom's evolutionary journey and therefore evolutionary theory in general. As opposed to Robinson, Goble is not afraid to show Tom acting immoral and includes both Tom actually stealing sweets as well as his body physically covered in prickles afterwards. Also contrary to Robinson, Ellie is not depicted with any type of wings and has brown hair. Here Goble's eastern influences can be seen as he does not adhere to the eastern biases of bloneness being equated with fairness, a measure of status and worth.

Just as Robinson can be seen depicting religious references throughout the story, Goble can be seen highlighting the secular ones. After Tom encounters Mother Carey, one of three fairies who become one, she tells him to walk backwards. She justifies this command by explaining the Greek myth of brothers Epimetheus and Prometheus. Epimetheus marries a woman named Pandora who possesses "all the gifts of the Gods" in a box in which they open in the myth more commonly referred to as "Pandora's Box". This story explains the existence of bad things in the world. This is an alternative explanation to the Christian Genesis that attributes the first woman Eve's sin in the Garden of Eden as the cause for the world we live in today which includes negative things. Kingsley does attempt to incorporate religious aspects into this myth by stating the Epimetheus, Pandora's husband, "got a great deal of trouble, as most men do in this world: but he got the three best things in the world into the bargain—a good wife, and experience, and hope" (Kingsley, 138). He believes the religious institution of marriage and hope outweigh everything bad in the world. He even capitalizes "Gods" mixing the Greek gods with the Christian God. However, the overall purpose of the Greek allusion seems to be to validate evolution. In the end of Mother Carey's rant, she insists that:

“and his [Epimetheus’] children are the men of science, who get good lasting work done in the world; but the children of Prometheus are the fanatics, and the theorists, and the bigots, and the bores, and the noisy windy people, who go telling silly folk what will happen, instead of looking to see what has happened already” (Kingsley, 139).

Through this passage Mother Carey is validating evolutionary theory when she insists that Epimetheus’ descendants become scientists. He walked backward and observed the past, the basis of which is used to create evolutionary theory. She further credits it when she discredits Prometheus who walked forward, when she says his descendants become theorists and bigots. For anyone who is skeptical about science, Kingsley is saying those who look to the past for their theories already have all of the information they need to make a claim, whereas predictive theories hold no merit because they make claims about things that haven’t happened yet. Predictive theories don’t allow for the humble observance of God’s unfolding through evolution.

Though Mother Carey’s story only serves the plot by justifying Tom to walk backward, Goble highlights this secular moment by illustrating Pandora and her box. In Figure 4 Pandora can be seen with dark hair, despite the story and time’s racist and negative connotations associated with darkness. Pandora is seen on her knees as in an act of prayer, and above her are the gifts of pagan gods. The gifts are almost all negative attributes, yet they all possess wings. In this illustration, the wings serve to elevate a pagan godly attribute over the human. Robinson uses wings to serve a similar function, but only with Christian aspects. Also similar to Robinson, Goble decorates her with a white cloth, however, it lies stationary and flat not indicating Pandora to have any association with Heaven above. Kingsley’s ideas of Darwinism and moral teachings are prominent throughout the story. Ellie serves as one of Tom’s instructors to upright Christianity as well as Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid, whose purpose is to teach “...Tom about the

inflexible laws of nature that God built into the world in order to achieve His purposes” (Beatty, Hale). She instructs both Ellie and Tom by telling the story of the DoAsYouLikes, a group of people who lived happily on an island with a volcano. The group was “too lazy to move away from the mountain,” (Kingsley, 104) despite her warnings, and were forced to live off nuts and roots after an eruption destroyed their livestock and food supply. She continues to show them images of the DoAsYouLikes and the conversation follows:

“Why,” said Tom, “they are growing no better than savages.”

“And look how ugly they are all getting,” said Ellie.

“Yes; when people live on poor vegetables instead of roast beef and plum-pudding, their jaws grow large, and their lips grow coarse, like the poor Paddies who eat potatoes.”

(Kingsley, 104)

She goes on to explain how only the “strongest and most active ones who could climb the trees, and so escape,” (Kingsley 104) and survive, and that they grew stronger because “the ladies will not marry any but the very strongest and fiercest gentleman, who can help them up the trees out of the lions’ way” (Kingsley 104). She continues to explain traits of the DoAsYouLikes, like using their feet and growing hairier, until finally Tom remarks, “I declare they are all apes.” She then concludes:

Folks say now that I can make beasts into men; by circumstance, and selection, and competition, and so forth. Well, perhaps they are right; and perhaps, again, they are wrong... But let them recollect this, that there are two sides to every question, and a downhill as well as an uphill road; and, if I can turn beasts into men, I can by the same

laws of circumstance, and selection, and competition, turn men into beasts. (Kingsley 2011, 116)

Here readers can see another degeneration. Once again, the idea that morality dictated the terms of physical evolution is seen. Kingsley applies Darwin's ideas of evolving based on necessary adaptations and the idea of survival of the fittest into a greater Christian context. The DoAsYouLikes disobeyed the Godlike Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid, therefore could not remain as English Christians, or what Kingsley believes to be the pinnacle of evolution. While Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid is a religious figure giving the instruction that establishes her superiority and power in the end, the overall lesson is a scientific based one, the focus being on evolution.

Once again, the tale of the DoAsYouLikes is a small tangent amidst the plot. It serves to solidify the consequences of living a life other than being an upright Christian man, who would presumably be hardworking, and not lazy. Here is another example of Goble bringing another evolutionary aspect of the story to attention. In Figure 5 readers can see a family of DoAsYouLikes climbing into a tree to survive the volcano eruption from the smoking volcano in the background. The DoAsYouLikes look mostly human aside from their faces which appear to be ape like and savage looking. Beneath them on the ground are skulls of what appears to be humans, emphasizing a survival of the fittest concept. Also, below them are lions, which serve to set up an evolutionary hierarchy. The humans de-evolved into apes, making the apes below them, but the apes survive the eruption whereas the lions appear not to, putting the lions below the apes.

A similar representation of the DoAsYouLikes can be seen by illustrator of the 1961 Edition Harold Jones. Jones also mostly depicts Tom with animals, only illustrating Mrs. DoAsYouWouldBeDoneBy twice, Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid four times and the fairies once.

He also consistently draws Tom much smaller than the animals he comes into contact. The size of Tom indicates that he has much of an evolution to go through. Jones also highlights the tale of the DoAsYouLikes in Figure 6. They can be seen reversing the evolutionary process by reading the image in a reversed manner: from bottom to top and left to right. The humans are seen hunching over and beginning to crawl, until finally they look ape like and animalistic and approaching a tree to climb.

3.3 ILLUSTRATIONS OF RACE AND CLASS

Creative interpretation of the text is also prevalent through illustrators' interpretations of Kingsley's class and race implications. Though the Irishwoman is an important figure and part of the same individual that is Queen of the fairies, many illustrators chose not to depict this character at all. This perhaps enforces Kingsley's prejudice against the Irish by not highlighting their presence in the story, marking them as not noteworthy and unworthy of illustrative emphasis. William Heath Robinson is one of the few illustrators who does choose to depict the Irish Woman, as seen in Figure 7. Robinson depicts her with dark hair, which highlights Kingsley's thread of black and white used to distinguish class. This is contrary to Ellie and the water-baby depiction of Tom, who despite Robinson's black and white illustration, are depicted with light hair through the use of minimal, or no shading to their hair. Robinson accurately depicts Kingsley's description of the woman with a "grey shawl over her head, and a crimson madder petticoat" (3) that make certain she is from Galway. While perhaps *not* illustrating the

Irishwoman is in a sense an act of classism itself, depicting Kingsley's severely racist depiction of the Irish could be more detrimental to a potentially impressionable young reader. Robinson includes her bare footedness and takes the liberty to further emphasize her poverty and limp but illustrating even her sack as patchwork and adding a patch to her cloak. He depicts her as needing a stick to help support her weight as she walks. All of the fabric on her clothing and possessions is drawn in a manner to make it look tattered and frayed. Robinson does make the choice to illustrate her alone, and not juxtapose her with Grimes on his horse and have her physically positioned lower than him. Her lone stature gives her a stoic presence that seems to allude to her importance despite the gross misrepresentation of the Irish.

This is contrary to Warwick Goble, one of the other few illustrators who chooses to illustrate the Irish woman. Goble has the advantage of color in his illustration, Figure 8 when depicting Kingsley's description of the woman and accurately illustrates her madder petticoat and grey shawl, however makes no effort to mark her as poor aside from her bare footedness. He does choose to draw her alongside both Tom and Grimes. Her hair is darker than theirs, marking her as a lower status, and she is depicted as physically lowlier than Grimes who is upon his horse. However, she is not drawn with her sack upon her back, one of the strongest indicators that she is poor, having to carry all of her possessions with her, and there is no indication that she has a limp or any type of physical ailment. In fact, Goble chooses to emphasize that Kingsley describes her as a "handsome woman" and gives her very small delicate features. She is also depicted as leaning over Tom, which perhaps elevates her status above his, with a hand extended on his shoulder in an affectionate manner. This depiction of the Irish woman is more positive, and less of an emphasis of Kingsley's strong discrimination against the Irish.

While not all illustrators chose to illustrate the Irish woman, they all in some way depict Tom. The variety of interpretations of Tom in various illustrations is a strong indicator of the liberties an illustrator is able to take and the effect of their influence on what the reader takes from the story. For example, there are some illustrators who draw Tom the same throughout the story drawing no emphasis to his evolutionary process. There are others, like Ethel Everett (Figure 9) who choose to highlight Kingsley's emphasis on black and white to draw attention to race and class. She depicts Tom in his discovery of his dirtiness in Ellie's room. Tom is in the foreground of the image, all one shade of brown, with a horrified expression on his face. His clothes are all tattered, a choice by Everett that emphasizes the connection between race/ color and class status. This image of a wide-eyed, white-eyed black figure was a common image of the caricatured black child of racist imagery. Tom is juxtaposed with an equally horrified Ellie in the background. Everett depicts the surrounding whiteness of the room in the background with a slight, golden haired Ellie in it in order to further highlight the correlation between whiteness and class. While Ellie is not nearly as detailed as Tom, her hair is flowing and long and a distinct rosininess can be seen on her cheek, highlights how fair skinned and well-groomed she is in comparison to Tom. Everett then goes on to further draw emphasis to the associations between black and white and class when she depicts an evolved Tom as a water baby with fair hair. Tom is clearly on an evolutionary path due to the gills protruding from his neck, but his evolution is also apparent in his hair that went from a solid shade of brown to nearly the same golden yellow as Ellie's. The first time she presents readers with a visual of Tom he is surrounded by nature, giving him a Victorian association of innocence. Tom and the surrounding dragonflies are arranged in a triangle with Tom at the top, emphasizing him as of higher importance and further along in the evolutionary process. Everett uses her creative liberty to depict the evolved Tom as

having light hair, furthering the associations that a higher class or evolution is associated with fairness and lightness. The influence of Everett's creative choice is more recognizable in comparison to the illustrative interpretation of illustrator Jessie Willcox Smith. Smith similarly depicts Tom in Figure 10 as discovering his dirtiness in Ellie's room. His interpretation however, has the mirror in the back of the room next to Ellie, so even though Tom is in the foreground, his image is directly next to Ellie for comparison. Tom is similarly a monochromatic shade of black, whereas Ellie and her room are drawn accurately to Kingsley's description of light, white, and fairness. When Smith depicts an evolved Tom as a water baby, his skin becomes fair. Tom's fair skin and gills show that he has physically evolved, and while his skin has become lighter which draws attention to the correlation between evolution and lightness, his hair remains black. Perhaps this is Smith's way of showing that even though Tom has evolved he cannot achieve as high a status of Ellie, and that there is only so much evolving one can do. This notion is evident in Kingsley's text when he asserts that Tom and Ellie could not marry each other because, "no one ever marries in a fairy tale, under the rank of a prince or a princess," (165). While Kingsley believes in one's ability to elevate their social status based on social Darwinian ideas, he insinuates a limitation to the growth one can achieve socially.

3.4 ILLUSTRATIONS TRUE TO TEXT

While many of the illustrators whose work accompanied *The Water-Babies* did not include images of the DoAsYouLikes, the two previous examples show the tale in a secular

manner. However, the original 1863 publication interpreted the tale of the DoAsYouLikes, and the story itself true to the text in a both a religious and evolutionary manner.

The illustrator, Linley Sambourne, was not highly educated in art and developed an insecurity that caused him to create meticulously detailed and time-consuming cartoons. Sambourne's strong suit lay in drawings of animals, which he often based off photographs he personally took. The inspiration for his illustrations for *The Water-Babies* came from his children, their toys, photos of fish he had caught, as well as photographs he took at the zoo (Ormond). It was known Sambourne was aware of evolutionary theory, but how far he sympathized with Kingsley's morality is unknown. His illustration of the DoAsYouLikes raises the question of his beliefs.

The image is highly detailed in typical Sambourne fashion. The DoAsYouLikes are portrayed as gruesome, not all entirely ape like species. They are extremely dark, savage looking. Sambourne chose to incorporate no images of Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid because of how ugly she was (Ormond), yet emphasized this frightening de-evolution. In the center of the image is most likely Mother Carey, whom Sambourne represented as a "contorted version of the classical statues he so much admired," (Ormond). She is portrayed as very light and sexualized which creates a stark contrast with the DoAsYouLikes, perhaps implying the white woman's body is in jeopardy amongst savages. Her positioning in the center above them distinguishes her status above them. It also presents readers with the two extremes of Kingsley's idea of evolution. This image perhaps enhances all of Kingsley's points. In the text it is apparent the DoAsYouLikes de-evolve because of their actions, but Mrs. BeDoneByAsYouDid's overarching influence is only apparent at the very end. This illustration very graphically shows what Kingsley believed to be the process of de-evolution, and the gruesomeness enhances how dire the consequences of moral failure can be. Mother Carey's centrality in the image draws attention

to God's influence in the matter, as well as strongly contrasts the savages and gives possible incentive to readers to be upright English children. This illustration may cause readers to pick up on the evolutionary and religious themes infused through the plot, but it brings attention to both themes.

Sambourne even includes religious references when illustrating evolutionary concepts. Tom witnesses caddis-baits in a pool evolving to have tails. Kingsley mocks the necessity for the creatures to evolve by saying they need the tails to be in fashion, "for people must always follow the fashion, even if it be spoon-bonnets" (Kingsley, 41). Sambourne chooses to illustrate this passage from the book, however, he does not just highlight the evolutionary aspects of the story, he draws the "spoon-bonnets", as shown in Figure 12. Kingsley uses the term "trending" as a way to describe adaptive traits. He claims that it doesn't matter what the trend is, you have to follow, in other words: you have to adapt to survive. He makes up the whimsical concept of a bonnet- spoon to poke fun at adaptive traits that seem pointless. By drawing the "bonnet-spoon", Sambourne is drawing attention to what is coded as an adaptive trait, but not as much as if he had drawn the caddis-baits' tails, the actual adaptive trait they had developed. He combines this light emphasis on evolution and adds a date. While the date is part of the mockery, claiming the bonnet spoon is the most modern way to adapt, he also includes the acronym A.D. which stands for the medieval Latin term Anno Domini, which means the year of the lord. Though the same point could have been made without the addition of A.D., the use of acronym brings some religious focus into the illustration accompanying a passage about evolution.

Like Goble, Sambourne shows Tom physically changing by depicting him with his prickles after he steals the sweets. He also shows Tom growing throughout his journey. He depicts him as a baby, and then as an older boy. Though he may have been more inclined to

draw the animal interactions throughout the story because of his interest in drawing animals, Sambourne includes a similar illustration to Robinson's of the fairy above Earth looking like an angel. Though every illustrator gets to interpret a story in their own way, some seemingly did so in a way that was true to Kingsley's text. Another example of this would be Ethel Everett's 1930 depiction of Tom as a water baby. Tom can be seen with light hair, and as angelically fair infant. Everett also makes the decision to alter Tom's physical appearance when he becomes a water baby by giving him gills around his neck. The gills however, are remnant of wings, giving Tom an angelic aesthetic that could tip readers off to the religious implications about becoming a water baby.

CONCLUSION

While Kingsley's wide breadth of interests allowed him to be more accepting of evolutionary theory, he ultimately believed that theology was the higher power that dictated natural sciences. As Piers J. Hale stated in "Monkeys into Men and Men into Monkeys: Chance and Contingency in the Evolution of Man, Mind and Morals in Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*": "Kingsley believed that the reason why God had chosen to govern the world by such an apparently chanceful process as natural selection was that He intended mankind to learn about the world He had created and the laws by which He governed. It was only by doing so that mankind could discover God's intentions for them and, leaving nothing to chance, ensure that their own development was a progressive one-- as God surely intended." (Hale 554). He makes this clear when his tale ends with all of the fairies becoming one being drenched in "clear, white, blazing light" (165), too dazzling for Tom and Ellie to look at it. The religious imagery in the description further enforces that the magical beings are representative of God, who Tom has finally evolved enough to encounter upon entering heaven. The story concludes with a moral that while filled with some whimsical nonsense attributed to the story, is wrapped up with the narrator instructing readers to "thank God that you have plenty of cold water to wash in; and wash in it too, like a true Englishman" (167). This final sentiment makes clear Kingsley's opinion. The water, that would wash one and make them clean, and therefore give the reader a higher social status which you make them more evolved in Kingsley's logic, is attributed to God. He is the one responsible for that water that allows the evolutionary process in the tale to exist. It is by this sentiment that Tom loses his association with the African race, since Kingsley's logic is that white people are more highly evolved.

Despite the text's ultimate conclusion that evolutionary theory exists within the revelations of religion, the whimsical and didactic tone of the narrator along with the intersection of many discourses, offer room for creative interpretation and influence by the illustrators. This is an important consideration when considering reader interpretation and the effects on readers during a time when the subject matter was so controversial. While it can be noted that:

no matter how inscrutable nature seemed, Kingsley always persisted in his faith derived less from his vacillating circles of logic than from his emotional attachment to a person God who was as preoccupied with truthfulness as Kingsley was. It was his deeply held conviction that God could not lie that enabled Kingsley to look forward so optimistically to a future in which science and scripture would fully agree. (Abberley 52)

The truthfulness Kingsley found in religion that he thought would be present in his text could be molded by the truth found by all of those to illustrate his publication. The importance of this is crucial when discussing interpretations, for of the many layers to Kingsley's text, from the intersecting discourses to the heavily laden didacticism, illustrations should be acknowledged amongst them by scholars.

APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: William Heath Robinson, 1915



Figure 2: William Heath Robinson, 1915

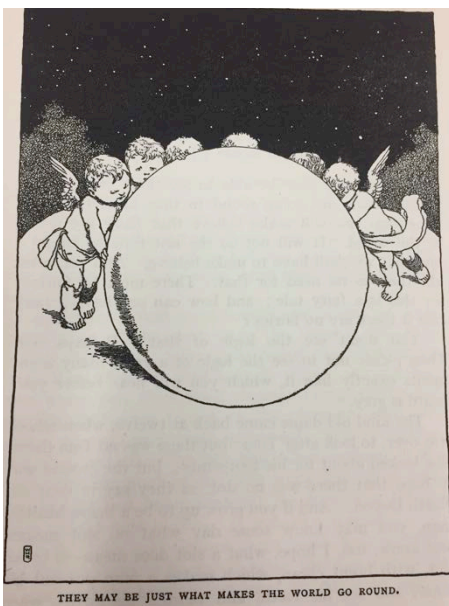


Figure 3: Maria L. Kirk, 1910.



Figure 4: Warwick Goble, 1909.



Figure 5: Warwick Goble, 1909.

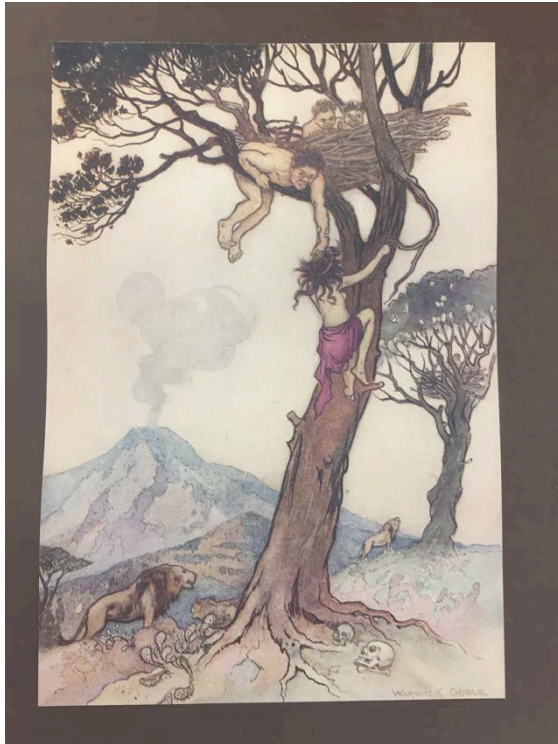


Figure 6: Harold Jones, 1961.

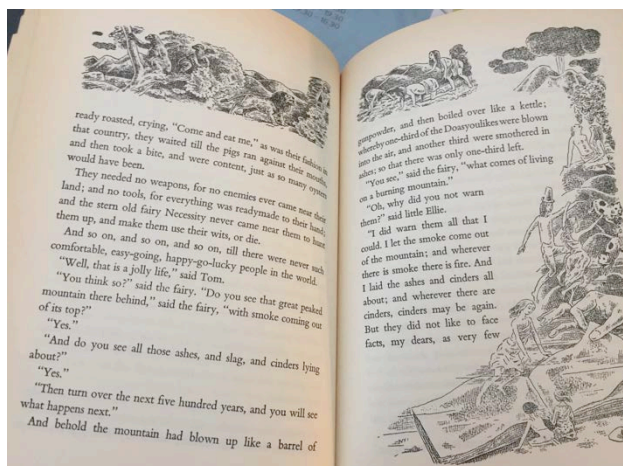


Figure 7: William Heath Robinson, 1915.

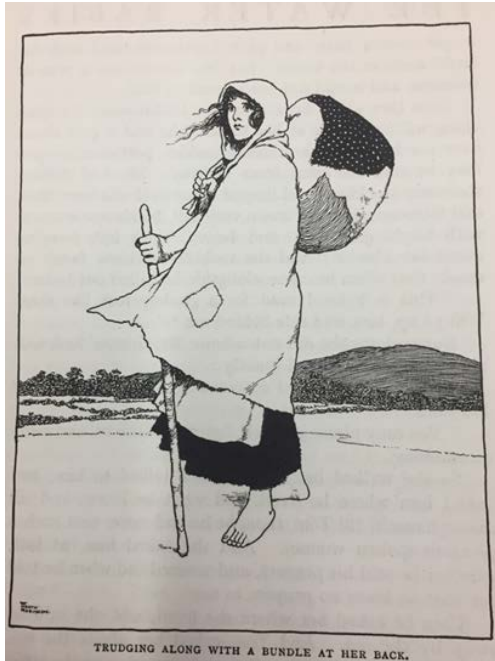


Figure 8: Warwick Goble, 1909.

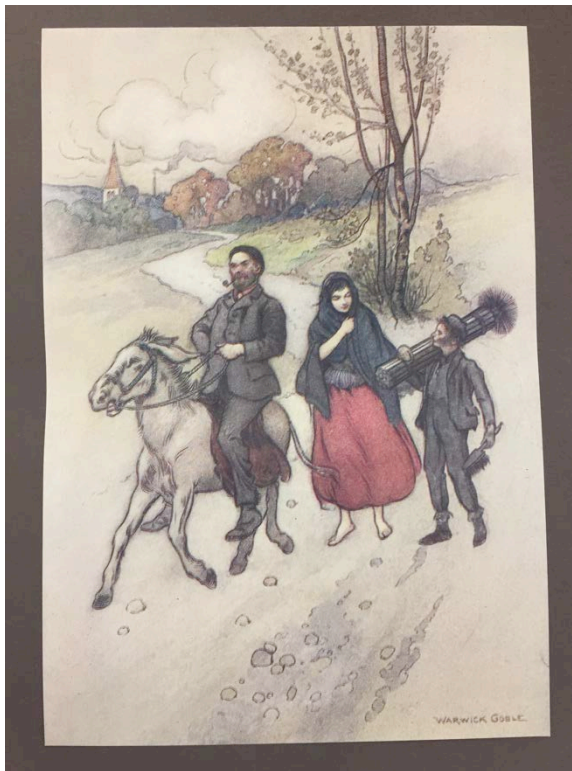


Figure 9: Ethel Everett, 1930.

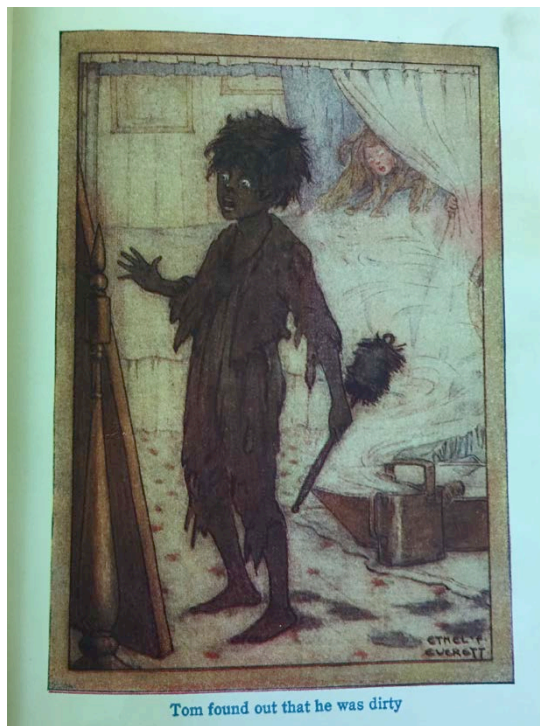


Figure 10: Jessie Willcox Smith, 1923.

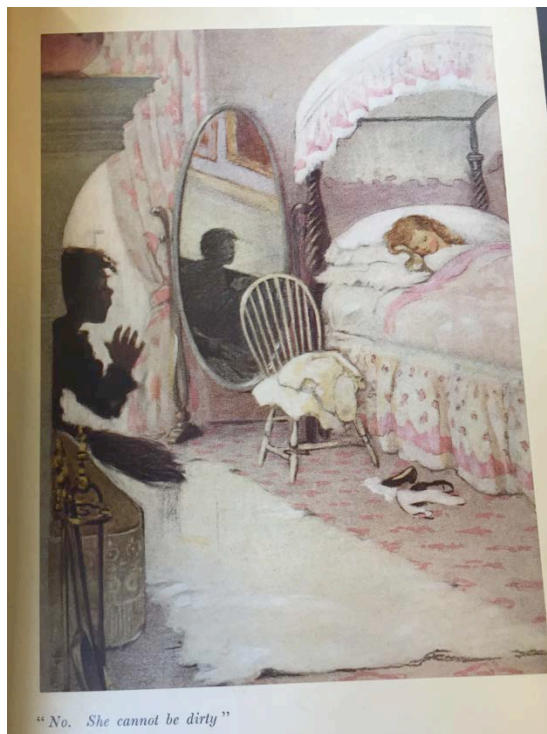


Figure 11: Linley Sambourne, 1863.



Figure 12: Linley Sambourne, 1863.



Figure 13: Ethel Everett, 1930.



Tom and his friend the dragon fly were sitting on a water-lily leaf

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abberley, Will. "Animal Cunning: Deceptive Nature and Truthful Science in Charles Kingsley's Natural Theology." *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 1, Oct. 2015: pp. 34-56. EBSCOhost, doi:10.2979/victorianstudies.58.1.02.
- Beatty, John and Hale, Piers J. "Water Babies: an evolutionary parable" *Endeavor*, vol.32, no.4, 2008, https://www.academia.edu/1325252/Water_Babies_an_evolutionary_parable. Accessed 29 Sept. 2016.
- Chassagnol, Anne. (2010) "Darwin in Wonderland: Evolution, Involution and Natural Selection in The Water Babies (1863)." *Miranda*, No.1, 2010: 1-10.
- Dennett, Daniel C. "In Darwin's Wake, Where Am I?" *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*, Vol. 75, No. 2, 2001: 11-30
- Hale, Piers J. "Monkeys into Men and Men into Monkeys: Chance and Contingency in the Evolution of Man, Mind and Morals in Charles Kingsley's Water Babies." *Journal of the History of Biology*. Vol. 46, No.4, 2013: 551-597.
- Halwley, John C. "The Water-Babies as a Catechetical Paradigm" *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1989, <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/248650/pdf>. Accessed 29 Sept. 2016.
- Hamilton, James. *William Heath Robinson*. Trafalgar Square Publishing, 1995.
- Hamlin, Christopher. "Charles Kingsley: From Being Green to Green Being." *Victorian Studies*. Vol. 54, No. 2, 2012. 255-281.
- Harper L.M. (2004) "Children's Literature, Science and Faith: *The Water-Babies*." *Children's Literature*. Eds. Lesnik-Oberstein K. Palgrave. Macmillan, 2014. 118-143.

- Hodgson, Amanda. "Defining the Species: apes, savages and humans in scientific and literary writing of the 1860s." *Journal of Victorian Culture*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2010: 228-251.
- Kingsley, Charles. "The Natural Theology of the Future" Sion College, 1871.
<https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/k/kingsley/charles/lectures/natural-theology-of-the-future/>
- Kingsley, Charles. *The Water Babies*. Boston & New York Houghton Mifflin, 1915.
- Kingsley, Charles. *The Water Babies*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2011.
- Levine, George. "Reflections on Darwin and Darwinizing." *Victorian Studies*, 2009; 51 (2): 224-245.
- Marsh, Emily E. and White, Marilyn Domas. "A Taxonomy of Relationships between Images and Text." *Journal of Documentation*, vol. 59, no. 6, 2003,
<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/pitt.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1108/00220410310506303>. Accessed 17 July 2017
- Mullen, Chris. *The Visual Telling of Stories*. N/A, 2004,
<https://www.fulltable.com/vts/aoi/s/sambourne/wb/a.htm>. Accessed 8 Oct. 2016.
- Muller, Charles. "The Water-Babies-- Moral Lessons for Children. *Unisa English Studies*. Vol. 24, No. 1, 1986. 12-17.
- Murphy, Ruth. "Darwin and 1860s Children's Literature: Belief, Myth or Detritus." *Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2012,
http://www.literatureandscience.org/issues/JLS_5_2/JLS_vol_5_no_2_Murphy.pdf. Accessed 6 Oct. 2016.
- N/A. "Evolution Revolution." *PBS*. PBS, 2001.
<https://www.fulltable.com/vts/aoi/s/sambourne/wb/a.htm>. Accessed 6 Oct. 2016.

N/A. Studio Talk. *The Studio*. v.48 no.199-202, London: National Magazine Co., 1909-1910.

Pg. 147.

Neill, A. "Marvelous Plasticity and the Fortunes of Species in *The Water-Babies*." *Philosophy and Literature*, vol. 38 no. 1, 2014, pp. A162-A177. *Project MUSE*, doi:10.1353/phl.2014.0037

Ormond, Leonée. "Linley Sambourne: "The Water Babies" and "Three Tales of Hans

Andersen"" *The British Art Journal*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2001,

http://www.jstor.org/stable/41615073?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents. Accessed 1 Oct.

2016.

Petzold, Jochen. "'How like us is that ugly brute, the ape!': Darwin's 'Ape Theory' and Its

Traces in Victorian Children's Magazines." *Reflecting on Darwin*. Eds. Eckart Voigts,

Barbara Schaff, and Monika Pietrzak-Franger. Ashgate, 2014. 57-71.

Sheley, Erin. "The Laws of Nature or Nature's God?: Penal Authority in Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*" *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*. Vol. 37, No. 2, 2012. 133-

152.

Straley, Jessica. "Of Beasts and Boys: Kingsley, Spencer, and the Theory of Recapitulation."

Victorian Studies, vol. 49, no.4, 2007,

https://www.jstor.org/stable/4626369?seq=2#page_scan_tab_contents. Accessed 29 Sept.

2016.

Talairach- Vielams, Laurence. "From the Wonders of Nature to the Wonders of Evolution: Charles

Kingsley's Nursery Fairies" *Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture*.

Eds. Bristow, Joseph. Palgrave. Macmillan, 2014: 1-38.

Walker, Stanwood S. "'Backwards and Backwards Ever': Charles Kingsley's Racial-Historical

Allegory and the Liberal Anglican Revisioning of Britain." *Nineteenth-Century*

Literature, vol. 62, no. 3, 2007, pp. 339–379. *JSTOR*, JSTOR,
www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/ncl.2007.62.3.339.

WORK REFERENCED

Dennett, Daniel C. *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meanings of Life*. New York:

Simon & Schuster, 1996. Print.

Hintz, Carrie and Eric. L. Tribunella. *Reading Children's Literature, A Critical Introduction*.

Bedford/ St. Martin, 2013.

Judd, Catherine Nealy. "Charles Kingsley's The Water-Babies: Industrial England, The Irish

Famine, and the American Civil War" *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 45, No. 1,

2017: 179-204.

Nodleman, Perry. "Decoding the images: how picturebooks work" *Understanding Children's*

Literature. Eds. Hunt, Peter. Routledge, 1999. 128-139.

Nodleman, Perry and Mavis Reimer. "How Pictures Provide Information About Stories" *The*

Pleasures of Children's Literature. Allyn and Bacon, 2003. 278-294.

Psomiades, Kathy Alexis. "Victorian Savages." *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the*

Arts, Vol. 52, No. 1, 2010, 135-144.

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mzh&AN=2014390994&site=ehost-live>

Ruse, Michael. "Charles Darwin and *The Origin of Species*" *The Darwinian Revolution*. The

University of Chicago Press, 1999. 160-201.

Stevenson, Keri R. *The Joys of Earth: Evolutionary Kinship in Victorian Atheist and Agnostic*

Authors. 2015. UKentucky, PhD Dissertation.

Sumpter, Caroline. "Fairy Tale and Folklore in the Nineteenth Century." *Literature Compass*.

Vol 6. No.3, 2009. 785-798.

Waller, John O. "Charles Kingsley and the American Civil War." *Studies in Philosophy*, vol. 60, no. 3, 1963: 554-568.

Wood, N. "A (Sea) Green Victorian: Charles Kingsley and The Water-Babies." *The Lion and the Unicorn*, Vol. 19 No. 2, 1995, 233-252. Project MUSE, doi:10.1353/uni.1995.0033